UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson — Louis L. Mann — Curtis W. Reese

Murder Will Out!

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Mexican Notes

By SYDNEY STRONG

Chinese Armies Compared

By GILBERT REID

The Awakening in China

By HARRY KINGMAN

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II. Chapter XXI. By M. K. GANDHI

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1927 NUMBER 23

WAR!

He reaps dire harvest who sows dragons' teeth!
When Law is silent anarch murder rules;
Law is humanity's consummate flower,
And Love is the fulfillment of the Law;
Its blind and brute denial, that is War,
The Laws of War! In war there is no law.
Where war is not, there and there only Law!

Where armies quarter, thorns and thistles grow;
New wrongs spring ever in the wake of war;
From their hot ashes spring up fresh Bastilles.
The Sutler camps on the Avenger's Trail.
The "mailed fist" is but a burglar's tool,
Gross cities swell with loot of great campaigns;
The vulture gorges when the Eagle strikes.

David Starr Jordan.

From "In the Wilderness."
Phi Beta Kappa Poem, 1913.

Nothing is more dangerous than contemporary historical generalizations. It is easy to look back five hundred or a thousand years into the past, and discern the great, all-inclusive events which were transpiring. It is doubtful, however, if the men living five hundred and a thousand years ago knew what was going on—and it is assuredly doubtful if *we* know what is going on today! We can see *this* particular event, and *that* particular event, and the *other;* but how many of us can put these separate events together and thus discover the eternal pattern which they present? It takes the perspective of time to behold that pattern, just as it takes the perspective of space, from a mountain-top or an aeroplane, to behold a landscape. Yet, if we have inward vision, and some gift of imagination, it is not impossible to read the signs of the times. Which brings us to the idea which has been growing in our mind for months, and which became fixed there when the British Empire dissolved, or was remade—that in future ages the first half of the twentieth century is going to be known as the period of history which saw *the passing of Europe!* The passing began, undoubtedly, in the nineteeth century; it reached its point of precipitation in the Great War; it is now, and for years to come will still be, working out its consequence. All about us are the signs which indicate that Europe's sun is setting. This reorganization of the British Empire—what is it but the outward recognition of the fact that the center of political and social gravity has shifted from England to Canada, Australia and New Zealand? The debt controversy—what is it but the writhing of Europe in helpless resistance against America's economic leadership of the world? The situation in Asia—what does it mean, if not that Europe is too weak to hold her grip on subject peoples? Not since Rome fell has mankind witnessed such a stupendous historical phenomenon as the fall of Europe. And here it is going right on before our eyes, and we know nothing about it.

Never was the weakness of the Democratic Party, as an opposition party, so pitifully displayed as in the recent Mexican and Nicaraguan crisis. Here was a God-given opportunity for the Democrats. The administration had blundered into one stupid mistake after another. Engaged in an utterly disgraceful piece of imperialistic business, it fluttered from one desperate explanation to another, until it fell to the ground utterly in the hilarious nonsense of Kellogg's "red" scare. Meanwhile, public opinion was rolling up great billows of indignant protest which only needed to be seized upon by a strong current of leadership to be turned into an engulfing flood. There were two or three days there when the Democrats had it in their hands to sweep away the Coolidge-Kellogg regime altogether. But what did they do? Nothing at all! A few ill-equipped Democrats in the House, to their individual credit be it said, spoke up boldly, but without effect as they were obviously snipers. In the Senate, where the heavy artillery is found, the Democrats agreed not to "embarrass the administration"—imagine it!—and thus silenced their big guns, and left the work of opposition to Republicans like Borah and Wheeler. In the country at large, there wasn't a peep. Governor Smith, of New York, hailed as our next president in many quarters, was very busy with affairs of state at Albany, and thus not able to give attention to Washington and points further south. Plenty of reasons, you may well believe, why a good Catholic, like the redoubtable "Al," should not oppose American aggression against the Calles government in Mexico! McAdoo, also, to say nothing of Ritchie and other leaders of the national Democracy, was discreetly silent. In other words, the Democratic Party did just exactly nothing at all to stop Coolidge and Kellogg in their mad escapades in Latin countries. Which means, of course, that we have no opposition party in the United

States—a fact suspected many times before, but never before so perfectly demonstrated as in this recent international episode!

There are many things that are going to make it difficult for Governor Smith, of New York, to be nominated for the presidency, and next to impossible to be elected. Of these, none is quite so potent as the Catholic situation in Mexico, especially if it be true that the Catholic arch-bishop in that country is leading or even fomenting armed revolt against his government. What is the chief argument against "Al" Smith as a Catholic president? It is the contention, which we cite simply as an argument not as a fact, that a Roman Catholic has a dual allegiance, one to his church and the other to his country, and that, in the case of any conflict between the two, his allegiance to his church would take precedence over that to his country. The fact that the Roman church is a vast international institution, quite as much political in character as ecclesiastical, with definite designs for the exercise of a power which she regards as altogether superior to and independent of any other earthly power whatsoever, makes it dangerous, so the argument runs, to put any Catholic in the White House. It would mean sooner or later the subjection of Washington to Rome. This idea sounds ridiculous as applied to Governor Smith, but it seems to take on an exceeding plausibility as applied to Mexico. Here is the Catholic church in Mexico in full revolt against the Mexican government. Here are the bishops and priests generally taking their orders straight from Rome. Here are reports that the clerics are organizing and leading their followers in armed battle against the nation. We have a real issue, in other words, in this affair—a veritable showdown; and everything that the most bigoted Protestants have ever said against the Catholics seems to be true! We have something more than a suspicion that, whatever else may be true or false, the Roman hierarchy in the United States is eager to have Smith elected president. If this is so, the sooner they stop things in Mexico—and, incidentally, the sooner they call off the Knights of Columbus from their anti-Mexican campaign—the better for them. Smith is dead if these go on.

Our most notorious woman governor has retired from office in a manner to encourage at least her own state to swear, Never again! We should much regret having to believe that "Ma" Ferguson's little fiasco in Texas has any significance in the movement of womanhood to find a nobler and more nearly rightful place in modern civilization. Her femininity made her and her little drama the more picturesque. Some of the incidents connected with her election and the muddling in her office could have occurred only in the case of a woman. But the modern woman and her capacity for social and political usefulness are not to be judged by Mrs. Ferguson's record. Happily the incident is closed. The "biggest state in the Union" has probably learned something which will prove useful to its citizens. The era of the kind of politics embodied in "Jim" Ferguson and his ilk seems passed. His "comeback" through his wife was simply an after-flash which proves that the last of that sort of powder in the magazine has now been exploded. His patent use of his wife's office for political devices at which he long ago proved himself an adept, confirms the wisdom of the legal action which formerly drove him out of office. This time he retires without the false dramatism which impeachment afforded him on an earlier occasion. Mrs. Ferguson's administration has been disgraced by scandals similar to those of her husband's term. The prisons of the state have been thrown open, not to vindicate a principle, nor to re-instate those who have a contribution to make to useful citizenship, but with a recklessness and under such suspicion of corruption as almost to make a record among many such scandals in the southwest. The wholesale use of her pardoning power during the closing hours of her term is said to have brought the total of her "jail deliveries" up to 3,600. Probably a good many of our states would be the better off with 3,600 fewer persons incarcerated, but true prison reform will not be Fergusonian.

We have confessed before in these columns our inability to take seriously our friends, the "wets;" or rather, shall we say our inability to sympathize with the "wets." The paradoxes, the contradictions, the inconsistencies in their position simply leave us incredulous. For example! Here are the "wets" telling us that they can get all the liquor they want—the law as a restrictive measure is a hopeless failure—everybody is buying "it" or making "it"—the whole country is simply reeking with alcohol! But, if this is the case, what are the "wets" making such a touse about? They have their wine and whiskey—more freely than ever before, according to their own testimony! Then why kick, and clamor for a change in the law, and denounce the "drys" with such a furious anger? But, say the "wets," look at the awful lawlessness! Oh! It's not liquor the "wets" are interested in, but *law*. Well, that's encouraging. But if they are so interested in the law and its integrity, why don't they obey the law? The whole thing is in their hands. They are the ones responsible for the prevailing lawlessness—the "wets," not the "drys"—and they (the "wets") can end this lawlessness tomorrow, if they want to, by themselves obeying the law. But, protest the "wets," if we obeyed the law, we couldn't have any liquor! Oh! It's liquor you are interested in, not law. You propose to have your liquor, even if you have to break the law, defy the Constitution and endow blackmail, bribery, theft and murder, to satisfy

your thirst. Well, well, that's enlightening. And you boast loudly that you're getting this liquor, too, law or no law! But, if this is so, why all the yelping? Which brings us beautifully back to just the point where we started! The "wets" are amusing, but not convincing. The present situation is perfectly obvious —it is as plain as a pike-staff. The "wets" want their liquor. Under the operation of the Prohibition law, this liquor is every hour harder to get, more expensive when got, and decidedly less safe. The "wets" see the beginning of the end. Of course, they are excited, unhappy, and—noisy!

The passing of the old-fashioned home is often lamented on religious grounds. The Liberal Jewish Congregations, in their recent convention, joined in this lament. With reason! With more reason still might the conservative, orthodox Jewish group join. The home, the traditional family solidarity of Judaism, has undoubtedly been the bulwark of the cult. So it has been the bulwark of every other sectarian type of religion. None senses this more clearly than the celibate Roman priesthood. The self-contained Protestant groups are scarcely behind the Roman hierarchy in appreciating the jeopardies of a family altar fallen into ruins. There are many reasons to lament degenerated family life. It will be difficult for society to contrive an institution precisely to supply the social need which the "godly home" once met. For its day, and in the culture of ideals properly esteemed in its civilization, its contribution was determinative of social destinies. But the new social conditions and the altered ideals for society today demand a new appraisal of the family institution. In no event will social problems be solved by lamentations over what has passed and gone. However ignorant of the causes we may be, however bewildered in defining new ethical values, we may be sure that the old-fashioned home has passed because on the whole it deserved to pass. It was a shrine of religion, and religion may be all too devoid of grip-holds in modern society. But has modern society any real use for the kind of religion which the old-fashioned home cultivated? Judaism may have lost much by the passing of the old family life. Has it not gained, gained more than it has lost? It has doubtless lost somewhat which must be sought anew through some institution. But does not Judaism, especially does not Liberal Judaism, profit by the loss of the rigid exclusiveness which was cultivated at the old family shrine? The final word has not been spoken upon this much discussed subject.

Murder Will Out!

Woe Woe, thrice woe! Woe to us, woe to all of ours! Yea,

"Woe, destruction, ruin and decay."

to quote the immortal Shelley, these all are come upon us—and then some, too! For, alas, we have been found out, discovered, exposed, apprehended in crime, convicted of sin, outlawed, banished, banned, barred, and damned. After years of successful and therefore safe deception of our friends, the readers of this paper, we are obliged at last to confess the truth. In spite of unremitting and hitherto triumphant endeavor to conceal our malevolent purposes, hide away our fell designs, mislead utterly our innocent friends and followers, we are stripped naked of our masquerade. Better a late confession than no confession at all, better a forced plea of "guilty" than vile continuance in sin. So listen, *list,* yea, *hear!* And heaven grant that your blood be not frozen in its veins with terror, nor your hair, "like quills upon the fretful porcupine," stand quite erect upon your head in awesome horror.

First, the sleuth who has unmasked us! A greater than Sherlock Holmes—yea, verily, a greater even than Dr. Watson. Who he is, we do not know, for he is a modest violet. He dwells apart, unseen. But his organization is the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., of Boston, and his organ a curious sheet entitled *What's What*—Only two issues of this organ have thus far appeared—volume 1, no. 1, and volume 1, no. 2, dated respectively September and October, 1926. Why later issues, for November, December, January, have not appeared, we do not know. Perhaps this paper is getting invisible, like its editor. Perhaps, like the good, it died young. Perhaps it was too good to be true. But these two issues did the work for us! Nothing else and no more were necessary. We are as flat as a pan-cake, as dismembered as an anatomical specimen, as "squshy" as a jelly-fish. In the ever-memorable words of Thomas Darcy McGee

"Sing woe, and alas is we."

But to our muttons!

UNITY—published for nearly fifty years, edited for thirty-eight of these years by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, read now by you, dear friend, every week!—do you know what kind of a paper this UNITY is, and the sort of reprehensible and nefarious business it is engaged in? Well, if you don't, the anonymous and safely hidden editor of *What's What* does. You bet he does! UNITY, along with its contemporary, the *World Tomorrow,* is carrying on "an insidious anti-religious campaign." Yes, sir! We are engaged in attacking religion, in seeking to destroy religion. You never knew it, of course. You have read this paper

for weeks and months, perhaps for years, and never imagined such a thing. But that only shows how "insidious" we are. Like the man who proved that Captain Kidd had successfully hidden treasure in a certain cave because he (the man) had searched the cave and not found a single trace of it, so it is proved that we have successfully carried on "an insidious anti-religious campaign" in these columns because the readers have scanned them faithfully every week and never noticed it at all. It takes the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., to discover a thing like that.

But UNITY, after all, is only a reflection of its editor, Mr. Holmes (This same Mr. Holmes, by the way, is not only Editor of UNITY but also Associate Editor of that other anti-religious sheet, the *World Tomorrow*. Here's conspiracy for you! How on earth did *What's What* ever miss that point?). "Let us take the case of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes," cries the busy sleuth. Yes, let's take it as we would take a decayed mouse with a kitchen poker! Hold your nose, and look at this!

"Mr. Holmes is the organizer and pastor of the Community Church, formerly called the 'Church of the Messiah,' New York. He was born in Philadelphia in 1879, and is a graduate of Harvard College."—*Gosh! this is terrible!*

"He is or has been affiliated with the following seditious organizations: American Association for Labor Legislation, American Civil Liberties Union, Committee of 48, League for Industrial Democracy, Intercollegiate Liberal League, the League of Neighbors, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, etc., etc." *Horrors, is this possible?*

"In general, he (Mr. Holmes) has been in the vanguard of defeatist, slacker and subversive organizations the ultimate purpose of which has been the wrecking of our governmental, social and religious institutions." *Say—this is beginning to look serious!*

"In May, 1917, he participated in a conference at New York, whose purpose was to unite all the various anti-war pro-German and Radical organizations in the country in an effort to thwart our military program."—*Why didn't the traitor go to prison? Where were Palmer, Burleson, and the secret service? Monstrous! Monstrous!*

" . . . John Haynes Holmes' championship of the I. W. W. has been a contributing cause to acts of violence." *This man Holmes must be an influential feller! He lives in New York—he must be responsible for the Wall Street explosion.*

"Dr. Holmes has been prominent in the Intercollegiate Liberal League—whose purpose it is to instill the poison of Communism into our colleges." *Moscow papers please copy! This is news!*

"John Haynes Holmes changed the name of his so-called church from 'Church of the Messiah' to 'Community Church' as an outward mark of his change of heart from Christianity to Communism." *Hurrah! Here's a ten strike! The secret is out at last!*

This is a part of our appalling record, now first given to the world. Only a part, mind you, for the whole story, as set down in detail, fills no less than four solid columns of *What's What*. "Fancy that, Hedda," as Ibsen puts it in his immortal play.

But Mr. Holmes is not the only pebble on the beach, not the only oyster in the frying-pan—Jane Addams is there, too. Do you know Jane Addams? You think you do, no doubt. But you don't. You can't! Nobody ever knew Jane Addams till the *What's What* sleuth-hound got on her trail, and nosed her out. Look at this, now:

"Jane Addams is undoubtedly the outstanding woman Radical of the country today." *Off with her head!*

"Out of 28 organizations with which she is or has been connected, the following 19 are clearly subversive: American Civil Liberties Union, American League to Limit Armaments, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Public Ownership League, Women's Peace Party, La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee." *We name only a few of the 19; but God knows these are enough. The woman stands convicted!*

" . . . has Hull House ever been anything than a recruiting station for Socialism?" *No, no, not a thing!*

"Her name is usually associated . . . with the names of Eugene V. Debs, Scott Nearing, Norman Hapgood, Oswald Garrison Villard, Felix Frankfurter, Clarence Darrow," etc. *Boil her in oil, boil them all in oil!*

"The relation of Miss Addams to the Red movement in America would appear to be definitely fixed . . . ." *Deport her to Russia—or Mexico! Why not?*

Thus are we exposed! By our words, by our work, by the company we keep! It must be obvious that this *What's What*, from which we quote, must be a magazine of the first order of patriotic importance. And as we are certain that our subscribers, after reading these dreadful revelations—which we impart in one last desperate endeavor of confession to save our soul from death—will refuse to have anything further to do with us, we respectfully suggest that they transfer their subscriptions from UNITY to *What's What*. Then they will be safe from contagion. They will know the truth about their fellow-men. They will learn how to obey the ninth commandment. They will be *patriots*—O, blessed, blessed word, *Patriots*.

The address of *What's What* is 7 Water Street,

Boston, Mass. We don't know who you should write to, for not a single name appears upon the paper. We can't guarantee that your subscription will ever bring you anything, for, as we have said above, not a copy has been issued since last October. But—the Industrial Defense Association, Inc. is "organized to inculcate the principles of Americanism in Industrial, Religious, Fraternal and Educational circles." Surely, that explains everything, and justifies anything!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Jottings

We want peace. We can render no better service to humanity than to put forth all our influence to prevent the world from slipping into the grasp of that ravaging system (war). Truth and faith and justice have a power of their own on which we are justified in placing a very large reliance. Nations rejoice in the fact that they have the courage to fight each other. When will the time come that they have the courage to trust each other?

President Coolidge, in Trenton speech.

The time *has* come, Mr. President—in this Mexican business. Just show this speech of yours to Secretary Kellogg!

"Abie's Irish Rose" broke all New York theatrical records months ago. It has now broken the world's record for a continuous theatrical run, held by "Chou Chin Chow" in London. "Abie" is not a great play, but it is a clean play, and thus stands as perpetual rebuke to filth in the theatre. It proves today, as "The Old Homestead" proved yesterday, that the great mass of the public likes nothing quite so much on the stage as the simple presentation of the familiar and wholesome relationships of life.

China's greatest actor—he makes $750,000 a year—is coming to America. So announce the newspapers—China is evidently getting civilized, for she has apparently learned to reckon greatness in terms of money. Or is this money side of the story just the American gloss on the Chinese despatch?

Millions of mice devour the fields and block the roads in California! Millions of frogs, migrating from one swamp to another, stop automobile traffic in Massachusetts! How delightfully, year after year, the old legends recur.

We have meditated much upon the passing of Empress Carlotta. Where can history show a more pathetic figure? And what a span of years her life covered! She became an historical figure two generations ago. She was a character in an historical play in New York this last fall. Yet she died only on January 17th last!

We have never sympathized with the practise of writing church music to the words, "Sleepers, Awake." Bach wrote a famous chorale on this theme, and other composers have followed suit—but it is bad business. We also object to the hymn beginning—

Art thou languid, art thou weary,
Art thou sore distressed—

especially when sung after the sermon.

J. H. H.

Mexican Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

I met two interesting persons today—E. Kirby Smith and Alexandra Kollantai—who in a marked way represent two major forces at work in modern Mexico, and throughout the world. One is a capitalist, the other the representative of a socialistic government.

E. Kirby-Smith has been here over forty years. He has been active in business, especially as pertains to American capital. He has been president of the Chamber of Commerce and is active in the American Club. He is a good-looking, intelligent business man. He has large land holdings, for himself and as agent for others. His children have been educated, in part, in the States. One is in the U. S. Navy, another in business here. He is the son of the celebrated Gen. Kirby-Smith of the Civil War of 1860-5, who as a young man took part in the "Mexican War" of 1847. The father's adventure in Mexico doubtless had considerable to do with his son casting in his lot with Mexico; for here he found his wife, a Mexican lady, and made his home.

Mr. Kirby-Smith was very generous to me with his time and expressed himself freely. His attitude naturally was decidedly business-like. He said, he was "working with the government." What he had to say of the government was what a business man in Chicago or New York might have to say of his government, city or state. Taxes are high, and they come from unexpected quarters and at unexpected times. One doesn't know just what will be met with, around the corner. Gasoline e. g. is 44 cents a gallon, which is a handicap on general business. A piece of legislation surprises the people in regard to legacies, to the end that the government takes 60 per cent and takes it in cash. The government passes a bit of legislation requiring that any worker that is dropped—by discharge or by closing down of business—should be given a

three months salary. To him such laws are rather idealistic.

He does not have much faith in the indigenous population ever having the ability to "run things"—industrially or politically. This is the business man's point of view generally throughout the world. The same view was held, in the States, especially in the South, about the Negroes. "They must be kept in their place." All who thought otherwise were idealists. Mr. Kirby-Smith will not object, I feel sure, to my referring to him as a typical business man in his outlook on society. It involves a lack of faith in the ability of the common people to "run their own affairs." In considering Mexico, this must be taken into account, for capital has played and will play a very important role in the future of the country.

Rather odd, I went from the presence of Mr. Kirby-Smith to the presence of Alexandra Kollantai, Russia's diplomatic representative in Mexico, and first woman ambassador in the world, having served first in Norway. American readers generally want to know, "how did she look?" I know it is bad taste, but I will satisfy this weakness by saying that she has a very striking personality. She has large, luminous eyes which run swiftly, stop quickly and intelligently focus on the thought in hand—and with evident honesty and frankness. She enjoys humor, but swiftly moves to serious appreciation of the deeper things of life.

We were with her over half an hour, and our conversation was as unconventional as about a tea-table. Our topics ranged from the Youth movement to Gandhi. Her eyes lit up when I referred to the life of Gandhi touching the spiritual life of the world. She said that Russia was getting on well, but slowly. She expressed amazement, with pleasure, over the rapid changes that have taken place, during the last ten years—in Europe, China, India, the whole world.

Her outlook seemed to be that of serious hopefulness. There was not a hint of being on her guard. Not once did I have the thought that there was certain realms which must not be entered. We might have been talking with the mother of a family and not the representative of 140,000,000 people. I could not withhold the wish that this kind of diplomat might increase—what I should call a combination of the practical and ideal. She acted like one who trusted the people, and had them in the back-ground of her mind and actions. Benjamin Kidd would like to have seen Alexandra Kollantai, for he held that in the mind of woman humanity would find its highest guidance, for the creation of the new and better social order.

I must not stop my writing before I have satisfied a question that has been raised in my readers' minds by this visit to Kollantai, namely the question of the influence of Russia in Mexico and on the Revolution. Secretary Kellogg has more than intimated that Bolshevik agents were busy in this land. I have thought of it as I have noted certain phenomena, similar in the Russian and Mexican revolutions. For example, in both revolutions, the leaders in government have promoted a program of education that should reach all the people, also a program of agriculture that would help the peasants to better knowledge of agriculture as well as to possession of more land, also a program for the workers, in legislation, etc., for protection of life, for better wages and hours. And, the Church has been found to be hostile in both revolutions. I have come to the conclusion, however, that the similar phenomena are due to similar needs and environment, not to suggestion or propaganda. Revolutions work about the same everywhere. That they influence each other would be only natural. The American Revolution had an influence on the Mexican Independence movement of 1810, also on the French Revolution—all this without paid or conscious propaganda. I may add that the Mexican Labor leaders are hotly opposed to Communism. They get fairly mad when they refer to the tactics of the few Communists in Mexico—as did Trevino, secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor in a speech I heard this week. The attitude of the Mexican Federation of Labor toward Bolshevism is that of the American Federation of Labor.

And now, my journey in Mexico is over. I have crossed the Rio at Laredo, given up two oranges (prohibited) to the customs officials—who proceeded to devour them—had a wash and lunch in the Robert E. Lee hotel and am ready to state a few conclusions. . . The government of Mexico is stable. I will tell you why I think so, negatively. I discovered no representative class that wished it to fall. I consulted members of the American Chamber of Commerce, business men, loyal members of the Church, Protestants—and all wanted the government to stand. The reason in the minds of some of these was a fear of doing worse. In addition to these mentioned are the workers and small farmers—and they are practically solid for the government. The working classes regard the government as theirs.

The government is engaged in a constructive program—agrarian, educational and industrial. I feel certain that in the rural schools (2,700 of them already started and 1,000 to be organized this year), in the normal schools as well as in the universities, the government is doing a sincere and, according to means, remarkable work for Mexico. . . . The effort also of the government to restore land to the millions who were landless, in 1910, is an honest and much needed one. . . . The labor legislation of the government is calculated to improve the lot of the workers as well as to stabilize the government. In other words, the government is running its roots in the soil that makes for permanency.

There are many difficulties. The people are illiterate—i. e., the mass of them. There is much superstition. The Church is reactionary—quite unlike the Church in the States—and compels the government to act drastically in order to promote its program. Outside commercial interests aggravate the situation by interference over concessions etc. There is constant fear of the big neighbor to the North, who proclaims much about rights of private property and rarely of the rights of the people. And the big neighbor, once on a time, took a quarter of Mexico's territory—showing that there is some ground for fear.

Nevertheless, I believe that the government is comparatively permanent. Our papers have lashed us into unnecessary excitement. Affairs in Mexico seemed to be much calmer than affairs here. The most of the trouble between us and Mexico is being manufactured on this side of the Rio—and in it imagination plays a big part. . . . My parting wish is that all my readers might spend a month in Mexico. Very fascinating and safe. Incidentally it would help save America.

SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART II—CHAPTER XXI

The £3 Tax

Bala Sundaram's case brought me into touch with the indentured Indians. What impelled me, however, to make a deep study of their condition was the campaign for bringing them under special heavy taxation.

In that year, 1894, the Natal Government sought to impose an annual tax of £25 on the indentured Indians. The proposal astonished me. I put the matter before the Congress for discussion and it was immediately resolved to organize the necessary opposition.

At the outset, I must explain briefly the genesis of the tax.

About the year 1860 the Europeans in Natal, finding that there was considerable scope for sugarcane cultivation, felt themselves in need of labor. Without extra labor the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar were impossible and the Natal Zulus were not suited to this form of work. The Natal Government therefore corresponded with the Indian Government and secured their permission to recruit Indian labor. These recruits were to sign an indenture to labor in Natal for five years and at the end of the term they were to be at liberty to settle there and to have full rights of ownership of land. Those were the inducements held out to them, for the Whites then had looked forward to improving their agriculture by the industry of the Indian laborers after the term of their indentures had expired.

But the Indians gave more than had been expected of them. They grew large quantities of vegetables. They introduced a number of Indian varieties and made it possible to grow the local varieties cheaper. They also introduced the mango. Nor did their enterprise stop at agriculture. They entered trade. They purchased land for building and many raised themselves from the status of laborers to that of owners of land and houses. Merchants from India followed them and settled there for trade. The late Seth Abubaker Amod was first among them. He soon built up an extensive business.

The White traders were alarmed. When they first welcomed the Indian laborers they had not reckoned with their business skill. They might be tolerated as independent agriculturists, but their competition in trade could not be brooked.

This sowed the seed of the antagonism to Indians. Many other factors contributed to its growth. Our different ways of living, our simplicity, our contentment with small gains, our indifference to the laws of hygiene and sanitation, our slowness in keeping our surroundings clean and tidy, and our stinginess in keeping our houses in good repair—all these combined with the difference in religion, contributed to fan the flame of antagonism. Through legislation this antagonism found its expression in the Disfranchising Bill and the Bill to impose a tax on the indentured Indians. Independent of legislation a number of pinpricks had already been started.

The first suggestion was that the Indian laborers should be forcibly repatriated, so that the term of their indentures might expire in India. The Government of India was not likely to accept the suggestion. Another proposal was therefore made to the effect that

1. The indentured laborers should return to India on the expiry of his indenture; or that
2. He should sign a fresh indenture every two years, an increment being given at each renewal;
3. In the case of his refusal to return to India or renew the indenture he should pay an annual tax of £25.

A deputation composed of Sir Henry Binns and Mr. Mason was sent to India to get the proposal approved by the Government there. The Viceroy at that time was Lord Elgin. He disapproved of the £25 tax, but agreed to a poll tax of £3. I thought then, as I do even now, that this was a serious neglect of duty on the part of the Viceroy. In giving his approval he had in no way thought of the interests of India. It was no part of his duty thus to accommodate the Natal Europeans. In the course of three or four years an indentured laborer with his wife and each male child over 16, and female child over 13 came under the impost. To levy a yearly tax of £12 from a family of four—husband, wife and two children—when the average income of the husband was never more than 14 shillings a month was atrocious and unknown anywhere else in the world.

We organized a fierce campaign against this tax. If the Natal Indian Congress had remained silent on the subject, the Viceroy might have approved of even the £25 tax. The reduction from £25 to £3 was very likely due solely to the Congress agitation. But I may be mistaken in thinking so. It may be possible that the Indian Government had disapproved of the £25 tax from the beginning and reduced it to £3 irrespective of the opposition from the Congress. In any case it was a breach of trust on the part of the Indian Government. As trustee of the welfare of India the Viceroy ought never to have approved of this inhuman tax.

The Congress could not regard it as any great achievement to have succeeded in getting the tax reduced from £25 to £3. The regret was still there that it had not completely safeguarded the interests of the indentured Indians. It ever remained its determination to get the tax remitted, but it was twenty years before the determination was realized. And when it was realized, it came as a result of the laborers of not only the Natal Indians but of all the Indians in South Africa. The breach of faith with the late Mr. Gokhale became the occasion of the final campaign, in which the indentured Indians took their full share, some of them losing their lives as a result of the firing that was resorted to, and over ten thousand suffering imprisonment.

But truth triumphed in the end. The sufferings of

the Indians were the expression of that truth. But it would not have triumphed except for unflinching faith, great patience and incessant effort. Had the community given up the struggle, had the Congress abandoned the campaign and submitted to the tax as inevitable, the hated impost would have continued to be levied from the indentured Indians until this day, to the eternal shame of the Indians in South Africa and of the whole of India. M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai*)

Two Articles on China

I

Chinese Armies Compared

[From Our Special Correspondent]

Both militarists and the armies of China are being subject to review by both Chinese and foreigners, not as to their military prowess but as to the way they act towards others be they of the soil or strangers from abroad. "By their fruits ye shall know them," is the moral test now being applied to those who war on each other now in one province and then in another. As in the World War each side pointed out the atrocities of the other or falsely accused the enemy of the same for propaganda purposes, so in this continuous fighting which has been going on in China for many years the orderly or disorderly character of the respective troops is being carefully noted to their credit or discredit. If an army of the lawless and the cruel wins a victory, flags may be hung to betoken rejoicing but in the hearts of the people there will be fear and disgust. It is worth while for the military leaders or their civilian backers to be more attentive to the kind of soldiers they are sending into battle. The reputation of a General depends on his men as much in a moral way as in a military.

Speaking positively, the army of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang known as the First Kuominchun or People's Army has been more highly praised and less feared than any army in China, and this has been because of the moral qualities which have formed a part of their daily military training. Wherever these soldiers appear they have been welcomed. If there be exhibition of the non-Christian quality of cruelty and high-handedness the blame cannot be laid at the door of the soldier. Within the last year when fighting south of Tientsin or between Tientsin and Peking or in occupation of Peking or in retreat to Nankou and thence northwest to Kansuh everywhere there was discerned a moral difference between Marshal Feng's men and those on the other side, whether of Shantung or Chihli or Fengtien. Strange to say many of the soldiers on both sides were from Shantung, but there was a difference in training and so in the kind of soldiers produced. Mr. M. A. Lyall in his farewell speech delivered at the Union Club on Tuesday spoke as follows:

> An impression I gained when I was in Peking was that since Feng Yu-hsiang took a hand there, all the coolies wanted to see his men back. It is doubtful whether they had any sympathy for his political ideals, but all that they wanted was to have peace and to be left alone. Feng and his men did that for them, but the poor coolies were not so fortunate under Feng's successors, who robbed them of their property and constantly molested their womenfolk.

From letters which have been written from Kansuh and Shensi, Feng's army in its subjugation of the north-west and then the relief of Sianfu has won the same plaudits from the people. There may be military exactions to meet the needs of the army on march, but the conduct of the soldiers seems to be of the same high moral grade as when in occupation of Peking. This is all the more to their credit and the credit of their training seeing what deprivations they have endured during the last half year. For an army not to be demoralized under demoralizing conditions speaks well for their moral stamina. For a body of soldiers to refrain from the vices and from looting homes and molesting women at once commands our respect as well as our attention.

Marshal Feng's political connections have been to the ruin of his reputation but not yet to the ruin of his army. When he first made his *coup d'etat* some two years ago he was associated with Generals Hu and Sun, who with their men had far from a savory reputation. Their soldiers were dreaded, while Feng's were welcomed. So his plans and good name have been contaminated by Moscow and Bolshevism. His linking himself with the Kuomintang has been all right and safe, but not with the Red element or left wing of that party of democracy. The Southern army in its advance northward has acted very differently from that of Feng's army in its march southward. Marshal Feng had better look out or he and his army will go to smash on the rocks of moral decline. He had better hurry up and get Dr. Goforth to come and rescue him from his perils. Communism is worse than anti-Imperialism, but anti-Christianity is worse than communism. How can Feng's Christian army join with Chiang's atheistic army as they approach each other along the Yangtsze?

In comparison with the good record of Marshal Feng's army is the record of those who have been arrayed against him. The so-called Shantung army has been the most feared, not because of its fighting qualities but for the way the people have been maltreated. The reputation became so bad that the "Young General" came forward to restore order and show discipline especially in Peking. He knew very well what comparisons were being made, and to the discomfiture of the conquering Fengtien army. To an equal degree may be traced the downfall of Marshal Wu Pei-fu. His army has got out of hand. The soldiers are demoralized. The difference between the bandits of Honan and the soldiers of Honan is too slight. The worse the situation becomes in Honan, the more will Marshall Feng and his army be again welcomed as they pass through Shensi to Loyang, Chengchow and Kaifeng. If advice is needed, we say to Marshal Wu Pei-fu and ex-President Tsao Kun, "Get out while going is good." Perhaps the safest thing is for them to take the Lung-Hai railway down to Haichow and thence a steamer to Japan. Who is the brave General does not count or which army is the best equipped, but which soldiers behave themselves the best. Probably the people of China, if they could have their way, would be rid of all soldiers and turn those who are well-behaved into a police corps

for public protection. A few regiments would be needed for suppression of bandits and pirates and for restoring order amid existing chaos and dissolution.

International Institute of China, GILBERT REID.
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The Awakening in China

Foreigners who insist that the Chinese attack upon the so-called unequal treaties is unfounded find it difficult to understand, for one thing, why it is that, if these treaties are really unfair, the Chinese have taken so long to realize it. "If the Powers have treated you so badly," they say to the critics of foreign aggression, "why didn't you begin your movements of protest long ago instead of waiting until the last two years?" One Chinese that I know, when confronted with this question, answered it by telling a story about a Jewish prize-fighter who was arrested for punching a neighbor who had called him a rhinoceros. In the course of the cross-questioning in court the defendant admitted that, although he had struck his neighbor only the week before, it had been two years since the disagreeable name had been hurled at him. Having secured this damaging admission the plaintiff's attorney triumphantly asked him how he could justify striking a man who called him a rhinoceros if the offense seemed so slight that it took him two years to get angry about it. "It was only last week that I saw a rhinoceros for the first time," was the answer. The fact that the Chinese have only recently taken notice of the way in which foreigners in China have acted as though they were lined up at a free-lunch counter is really not proof that just that thing has not been happening for the past ninety years. Many foreigners sincerely believe that there has been but little exploitation of China by foreign Powers. On the other hand, men of at least equal intelligence but of different training and viewpoint hold that no other nation which has continued to maintain any claim to sovereign power has been so victimized as China.

However great may be the lack of agreement on this matter there is one thing upon which all foreigners in China will concur. That, since the Chinese began to get their backs up two years ago, they have been extraordinarily active is a fact which none will deny. When I leave Shanghai for the U. S. A. next May I shall do so with the feeling that in six years I have seen a good many important things happen in traditionally slow-moving old China.

I have seen, first, a sensational rise of self-consciousness on the part of the Chinese laboring man. The Labor Movement which looms so large in Chinese affairs today had not even been born six years ago. In the fall of 1921 a labor organization in South China, called the Seaman's Union, to the surprise of those who had not supposed that Chinese seamen had it in them, organized such an effective shipping strike that it won most of its demands. But even as late as 1923 labor organization had progressed little in other parts of China. It was only three years ago that I began attending the meeting of a little Fabian Society in Shanghai which met in the club rooms of the Shanghai branch of the Seaman's Union. This labor union in whose headquarters we met, was the only one which was countenanced at that time by the Shanghai authorities, and amounted to little more than a poorly patronized tea house. In our discussion group we enrolled a few English Fabians, a Hindu pacifist, an Eurasian anarchist, a couple of very disputatious Russian bolshevists, and a handful of nondescript members like myself. Scarcely anyone in the group agreed with anyone else on anything, and our discussions and debates rarely led us to any common standing ground. The striking thing in connection with it, as I look back, was that we were unable to find more than two or three Chinese who were interested in our deliberations. Since the suppression of labor activities was fairly rigid it was difficult to discover the Chinese labor leadership, and when we did succeed in finding the leaders they turned out to be ignorant chaps who knew little about social theories and, apparently, cared even less.

It was at about this time that a certain trade journal carried this prospectus of one of Shanghai's foreign industries. "It will be seen that the company is in an exceptionally favorable position. With the raw products at its doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap labor supply to draw upon, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that its annual profits should have exceeded its capitalization on at least three occasions." The press agent who sent out this copy three years ago must be pinching himself today to make sure that he is awake. For things have changed. Chinese labor is no longer such a lucrative asset to the foreign employer. Sympathy today may well be extended to many foreigner employers, as well as to Chinese workers, for not a few of them only keep their heads above water because of the leniency of their bankers.

To me the mushroom growth of the power of labor in China seems to prove anew the impotence of Capital's policy of suppression of labor organizations. Despite much propaganda to the contrary I believe that communist agitators from abroad had very little to do with the beginnings of the industrial struggle in Shanghai, a struggle which has turned out to be so significant and far-reaching in its implications. To short-sighted, ungenerous employers should go the credit for sponsoring the conflict. With a good number of splendid exceptions the policies of foreign employers in China have not been in accordance with those suggested by the chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce in Hankow. Many months ago he addressed foreign Capital in these words: "Inattention to labor problems and points of dispute more than any subsidized agitation tends to create bolshevism. That the Chinese laborer is existing under conditions of great difficulty is beyond question. . . . I would therefore urge employers, as I have urged them on previous occasions, to study their labor questions carefully, and by manifestations of understanding and ordinary human sympathy to solve their problems before they become more acute." Some foreign employers have sought to solve their difficulties in this spirit, but much of the seriousness of the present situation is due to

the fact that the majority considered such counsel as rank sentimentalism, impractical and dangerous.

With unrest growing in the mills the police refused to allow any public meetings on May 1st, Labor Day. I remember feeling at the time that the authorities were likely to defeat their own purpose by such a policy, as having heard the enthusiastic but harmless speeches at the Labor meeting the year before I felt that a policy of suppression would be just the one which would make the occasion anything more than a mere letting out of pent-up hot air. And by May 15th the pressure in the boiler had risen to the explosion point. A riot broke out in one of the largest Japanese mills in which damage amounting to Tls. 50,000 was reported done to the machinery by the rioters. In repelling the alleged attack the mill foremen fired several shots, killing one worker named Koo Cheng-hung and wounding eight others. At this time the Shanghai Mixed Court was dealing out prompt justice in every case where Shanghai working men were encroaching on the rights of Capital. Had the law shown itself equally as anxious to discover the true facts about the killing of Koo Cheng-hung as it did when an employer claimed an injury, the events which followed might not have occurred. But so far as was publicly discernible no attempt was made by the authorities to make legal inquiry into the killing. On June 4th a letter was mailed to the Shanghai Commissioner of Police asking whether there was to be any investigation of the facts connected with the death of the laborer. The answer of June 6th, three weeks after the shooting, was that "the matter will receive due attention." If, even since that time, there has been any legal investigation of the occurrence it has never been made known to the public, and Labor still quotes this case as one of the proofs that Shanghai law considers the death of a mere Chinese working man as of no consequence.

On May 24th laborers and students held a memorial service in Chinese territory for the deceased worker, who was by this time generally looked upon as a martyr to a high cause. At the conclusion of the service six students crossed over into the foreign concession in order to make speeches against foreign exploitation of Chinese labor. They were arrested by Shanghai Municipal Council police and imprisoned. On the sixth day of their incarceration, after the Mixed Court had, in the morning, failed to set them free, the students of the city set out on the afternoon of May 30th to make public protest against what they deemed to be a great injustice. This demonstration, with its tragic denouement, started a movement which has shaken China to its roots. The formation within a month of more than 100 labor unions in Shanghai, enrolling more than 200,000 members, was only one of its lesser implications. It vitalized the growth of Labor self-consciousness throughout all China.

In addition to the rise of Labor another spectacular development which has taken place during my few years in China has been the bursting into flame of Chinese Nationalism. At the time that Dr. Sun Yat Sen came to Shanghai from the south in the fall of 1924 with his slogan, "Abolish the Unequal Treaties," there was very little apparent nationalistic feeling in this country. Some of the intellectuals had begun to talk about the Christian enterprise in China as one of the agents of foreign imperialism, but their propaganda met with little response. Dr. Sun, colorful, idealistic, hero of Chinese students, sensing that the time had come for China to begin a fight for the regaining of self-respect, opened his drive on the treaties. Then came May 30th with its emotional aftermath which turned every intelligent Chinese into a patriot. The average Chinese may not have known for a time what he meant with his slogan about the treaties but he felt certain that China should waste no time in repudiating its role of international doormat. Today the emotion of patriotism, new as it is in China, is strongly coloring the thought and action of the Chinese people to an extent which makes them inexplicable to the old foreign residents who had thought that they understood them thoroughly. As usual the Christians have been among the first to surrender to Nationalism, and to many of them the international, humanitarian ideals of Jesus seem to be very unreal and academic. Last week I asked a mission school student body to vote as to whether the Chicago Tribune's daily quotation of Decatur's "Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our Country right or wrong" constituted a satisfactory ideal. About one-half accepted it as a desirable brand of patriotism.

Shortly after the May 30th incident there were many foreigners who were prophesying that the new manifestations of Chinese patriotism were but a temporary phenomenon and would soon die a natural death. Instead it grows ever stronger, and I think it will continue to do so. I believe that an awakened China will not discontinue the drive against unequal or dishonoring treatment from foreign powers until all injustices are removed. She has already attained a good deal, and within a few years will have obtained all. The policy of ignoring the inevitability of this adjustment in the hope that the old special privileges of the foreigner in China can be profitably clung to for a few more years is not only unethical but has already proven disastrous. If two years ago, instead of waiting until their hand was forced, the foreigners in China had voluntarily taken steps to reform the Shanghai Mixed Court, to accept the principle of Chinese tariff autonomy, to seek Chinese representation in such organizations as the Shanghai Municipal Council, and to discard the 1901 Protocol in its more antediluvian aspects, China would have accepted the friendly gestures with appreciation, and today I believe that we would not be witnessing the likelihood of a term of years when it will probably be necessary, temporarily, for practically all foreign commercial interests to abandon the China market. But we haven't made these alterations voluntarily. We have waited until we could do little else but surrender them. It has been done not so much from an overwhelming desire to be just as from a realization that it was the unavoidable or expedient course. As a consequence the Chinese feel but little gratitude. Had the report which has just been made by the Extraterritorialty Commission been issued a year or two ago it would have impressed the Chinese greatly. Now it is

either condemned or ignored. It comes too late to be of much use.

There is still time for the Powers to do something to improve the situation. Is it that they should seek to coerce China by force into maintaining the old relationships? I hold this to be impossible as well as immoral, a policy of absolute insanity even though it is advocated by a few stubborn and pugnacious pundits who ought to know more about Far-Eastern problems than I do. No, the Powers should look ahead and appreciate the fact that within three or four years the treaties forced on China in the golden days of unchallenged exploitation of weaker peoples will simply be no longer in effect. Realizing that this is inevitable they should lose no time in putting their relationships with China onto an ethical basis, and do it in an ungrudging manner, thus staving off much of the unpleasantness which otherwise lies ahead for all concerned. The Chinese mean to win back their self-respect, and although we may talk ourselves black in the face in pointing out to them that their first duty is to put their own house in order, they intend to take the field against the foreigners until the day when there is no longer any just cause to do so. In so doing they employ just the technique which every other nation has used, to wit the directing of an attack upon a common external enemy in order to encourage internal unity. It was not true even a year ago but it is true today that there remain very few foreigners in China who still insist that there is no need for a revision of the old treaties. These few remaining political fundamentalists—as impervious to the challenge to adjust outworn dogmas to the needs of a changing world as their brothers of the religious field—who maintain that the *status quo* in Sino-foreign relations should be and can be preserved are the greatest sentimentalists that I know in China. The old Negro's definition of *status quo* as "de mess we's in" is entirely apropos when applied to the China situation and a supreme attempt to get out of the mess immediately is something that should be delayed not an instant longer. . . .

Although I see little possibility of real peace for at least two decades I am not discouraged about China, as are so many. On the contrary I believe that the friends of this country have never had such good reason to take heart. What is it that I feel encouraged about? Principally I find my reassurance in just some of the things which foreign diehards in China are bitterly deploring. The significant thing is that a people which has slumbered long is now rubbing its eyes and giving every indication of donning its working clothes. The new spirit being displayed by the nationalists, by the literary radicals, by the opponents of religion, by the feminists, by the social reformers gives hope that a new China is to be born. The fact that this new energy may course, at times, in wrong channels is not very significant. Something of greater import attracts our attention. We see its indication as we watch certain foreigners, who use to rail at the Chinese for their lethargy, their lack of interest in public questions, their unwillingness to sacrifice their own comfort for any cause no matter how worthy, now wildly clutching at every twig and stone as they feel themselves being rushed pell-mell along by a Chinese movement whose dynamic emanates from just those qualities the lack of which they were formerly bemoaning. Without underestimating the darkness of the picture I really believe that this is the most hopeful day that China has ever seen. The reliance on reason and compromise rather than on physical violence, a principle that, although it may be disregarded by the militarists, is bred deep into Chinese life, will sooner or later bring order out of the present chaos. Only two weeks ago General Chang Kai-shek made more certain of the continued participation of Christian people in the nationalist movement by stating "I have no quarrel with Christianity, and missionaries will always be welcome as heretofore. The elimination of missions from China is not part of our program, and they may function in this country without interference as always."

Tientsin, China. HARRY KINGMAN.

The Study Table

Moses a "Red!"

We do not hear very often from Lincoln Steffens these days. He has become interested in world affairs, more particularly in revolutions; and, like a fireman on call for a fire, he stands on watch to rush to the place where trouble anywhere on the globe is breaking out. Since 1914, he has wandered widely over the earth, more particularly in Russia and in Mexico, where he has been able to study revolutions at first hand.

A revolution (he says), is a natural phenomenon, as natural and as understandable as a flood, a fire, or a war, a financial depression, an epidemic of disease or a pimple on the nose. It has its causes and its natural history. And it should be preventable, therefore, but not by prayer and not by force.

Mr. Steffens has gotten all through condemning things. He did this to perfection in the days when he was studying "the shame of the cities." But he now sees that such procedure is unscientific, and hence ineffective. What he seeks now to do is to *understand*. And it is this which brings him to the study of Moses and the Children of Israel, and their great revolt in Egypt—"Moses In Red,"* as he calls it!

This familiar Bible episode, says Mr. Steffens, is a perfect specimen of revolution. Exactly like a physical phenomenon, a revolution, which is a social phenomenon, always runs true to form. The same thing always happens in the same way and in the same order. It makes no difference whether it is the French Revolution, or the Russian Revolution, or the Israelitish Revolution in Egypt—whether it is Danton, Lenin, or Moses—the story never varies. There is a law about this thing, which the Old Testament calls Jehovah and which Karl Marx calls Economic Determinism, but which is one and the same thing always.

To prove his thesis, Mr. Steffens sets the stage with the background, paraphernalia and scenes of the

*"Moses in Red," by Lincoln Steffens, published by Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia.

Russian Revolution, and then re-enacts therein the drama of Moses and the exodus, as told in the Old Testament. It is an amazing parallel. Pharaoh plays to perfection the role of the Czar, the children of Israel are the confused and timid Russians to the life, Moses is the very anticipation of Lenin. Here in Egypt and the wilderness, exactly as in St. Petersburg and Moscow, are the revolt, the terror, the dictatorship. Nothing is lacking; Steffens follows the Bible narrative chapter by chapter, almost verse by verse, and shows how it matches up with the Russian experience in minutest details.

This is higher criticism of a new and creative order. It is a *tour de force* of embarrassing implications—especially for church folk. For if the revolt of Moses was so great and even sacred a thing, under divine guidance, as it were, why not the revolt of Lenin also? If Moses was a "red"—and the Christians Communists!—why reject their logical successors today? Perhaps it is the dodging of these questions which leads Steffens to say, in his introduction that he has "never heard a Christian sermon preached in a church."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Correspondence

Industrial Conscription

Editor of UNITY:

Edouard Bernstein once said:

"Men submit to militarism for all sorts of reasons, except for its real *raison d'être* war."

As the war went on it became also plain that another motive entered into preparedness, that of limiting industrial freedom through adoption of a Prussian type of organization: Universal military training is the most effective means yet developed for bringing about industrial subservience by fitting men to their place and holding them as cogs in the machine.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Oil, Coal, and War

Editor of UNITY:

A few weeks ago I had the opportunity to meet one of the foremost chemists in the country who is a professor in a large and famous Institute of Technology and who has made a special study of fuels.

He stated what was to me an amazing bit of information, namely, that, so far as is now known, there was only enough crude oil in the United States to supply our country with gasoline for six years! A few days later I read the same statement in an editorial in the Boston *Herald* which quoted the findings of the Oil Conservation Commission.

In answer to a question from me as to what would be used to supply motive power for autos and airplanes and fuel oil for shipping and for heating purposes, the chemist smiled encouragingly. "There is coal enough," said he, "to furnish all the power that will be needed for *at least* a thousand years!" And then he went on to explain that, foreseeing future shortage, processes had been worked out by German chemists, Bergius and Fischer, after years of patient study and experiment, by which gasoline and fuel oil could be obtained from bituminous coal in such quantities that the world would be assured of all that could be required.

"But," said I, "will each country be able to supply its own requirements?" "Yes," said he, "there is so much coal and it is so widespread that every large country can use this process and provide itself with oil from deposits within its own borders. Moreover, this will remove one great menace of war."

The *Herald* editorial referred to the coal supply as being sufficient only for a "few centuries." Truly, in comparison to those that have passed and those to come ten centuries, taken as a whole, is not a long interval. But from the viewpoint of a thousand years it stretches ahead as a considerable period. The advances that may be made—that will be made—in chemistry in that time are inconceivable to us today. We need not worry about future resources for the needs of coming generations. The chemist with whom I talked assured me that there was coal enough to furnish not only the gasoline required, but also to produce a *fuel gas* for heating houses, apartment and tourist hotels and other large public buildings. "In fact," he said, "gas is to be the future agent for heating—not oil." Let housekeepers and janitors heave sighs of unbounded relief for the days to come—no shovelling of coal—no ashes—no dirt from stove or furnace!

Everyone knows that our country has enormous deposits of coal. By the Bergius or Fischer processes coal will yield at reasonable cost a crude oil not unlike petroleum; and from this can be derived gasoline, fuel oil and fuel gas. Not only England has abundant quantities of coal but France and Germany are well provided and Canada has extensive deposits. Czechoslovakia also has very rich coal mines. Plants will be established at the entrances of mines for the reduction of coal into oil so that each country can produce all the gasoline and fuel oil required for all needs. The manufacture of gas will be continued as at present. . . .

It looks as if the situation as here outlined is of more import to the United States at present than any other country except, perhaps, England which is in such deep trouble over the coal industry. For in our country the problem of the supply of gasoline and fuel oil is an outstanding one. But one conclusion is evident and must be patent even to dull intellects, namely: that, since within the confines of our own domains there are abundant quantities of material for all the oil we can possibly use, and which can be produced inexpensively, we do not need to encroach upon any other country for supplies of it and the menace to us of war over oil should be compelled to retreat from sight.

Besides the substances mentioned, methyl alcohol, by a very different process, is obtained from coal. This process has been worked out by M. Patard, a former general in the French army and now inspector of explosives. At present it is a somewhat expensive process but when it becomes cheaper, as it undoubtedly will, methyl, or wood, alcohol will be widely used as the motive power for automobiles.

The elimination of a possible incentive to war is the first and foremost consideration in our natural pleasure at learning of a great scientific discovery. It is for helpful purposes, to facilitate the world's progress, to assist in overcoming disease, to strive to prolong life and make it more enjoyable and profitable on the high planes of human endeavor that all scientific work should be carried on. It is only by the most distorted reasoning that science is ever suborned to facilitate the deliberate destruction of human life.

That thought and energy of presumably normal human beings are today continually employed in inventing contrivances for the purpose of mutilating and massacring other human beings is the most terrible indictment of our age, filled as it is with anomalies and incongruities. War is indefensible from the viewpoint of economics, of morality, of religion and of civilization. A well-known preacher has said, "Any man is a slacker who does not do all in his power to prevent the possibility of war." Let us get rid of it here and now. We can if we are sufficiently determined. There is no obstacle that cannot be overcome, for the problem is distinctly one that is dependent on the mental attitude. Education for popular acceptance of the pacifist point of view is what is needed, for governments of large nations move too slowly in progressive directions. When enough people are definitely opposed to war the custom will vanish.

That scientific study and research will in all probability continue to eliminate causes of collective homicide is reason for encouragement and rejoicing in all quarters. And that there is a growing tendency on the part of the people to stop and think about questions relating to international affairs—to proceed cautiously and use their reason instead of flying into a passion before knowing the facts—gives

The Field

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SYDNEY STRONG VISITS LINCOLN CENTRE

The first place I visited, on arrival in Chicago, was Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard. This was founded, in 1905, by Jenkin Lloyd Jones—one of Chicago's prophets and pioneers. I went out to meet the people who publish UNITY, the weekly of which John Haynes Holmes is editor, with Mrs. Jones as managing-editor. (Dr. Jones died during the War. He was one of America's great peacemakers.)

I found a big brick building. I stopped and read on the corner-stone these words: ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE. LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT AND IN THIS FAITH DARE TO DO OUR DUTY. As I went up the steps, I read, ALL SOULS CHURCH—*Here let no man be stranger.* To the left, I noted that THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY had a branch. I also noted THE HILL READING ROOM and the words: *Knowledge is the surest basis of public happiness.* And then I met the janitor and said, "This is quite a place." "O yes," he said, "many things going on, gym, cooking, sewing and classes of all kinds." And he, or someone, told me that over 100,000 enter the doors annually, with over 20,000 in classes. About a quarter of these are colored. And I thought, Abraham Lincoln would certainly be pleased.

And then I sat in a lecture by John Herman Randall, one of the pastors of Community Church, N. Y., on World Unity. It was excellent, and fitted right in with my mood, coming as I did from Mexico. Incidentally, I picked up some material for future speeches. This lecture was in the course of Friday Morning Forum lectures—course ticket $5.00. Among future speakers I noted the names of Sherwood Eddy and our own Frederick Starr. Over the Forum, Dr. Curtis W. Reese presided. He is Dean of the Centre.

Mrs. Jenkin Lloyd Jones is active in the Centre, being in the heart of its planning and administration. Miss Johnson has been for years her right-hand associate. Just now Abraham Lincoln Centre is moving for larger endowment. A "generous friend" has made the offer to contribute $2 for every $1—until the sum of $150,000 is secured. The plant is worth $500,000 and there is already an endowment of $120,000. After the $150,000 is secured the plan is to go forward until an endowment of $500,000 is in hand and so put the CENTRE and UNITY on a firm basis and thus render a kind of service that is rendered nowhere else, since it is a unique combination of social values in the social and religious field—non-sectarian, inter-religious, cultural, socially progressive.

Anyone who has some money—up to a million—who does not know how wisely to spend it, would do well to look into the work and opportunity afforded by this extremely strategically located enterprise, founded in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln and so carried on. I feel warranted in saying that Mrs. Jones would be glad to give information. Mr. Salmon O. Levinson—father of the Outlawry of War idea—is president of the Board of Directors.

Those who are working for peace should be deeply interested, for Jenkin Lloyd Jones and ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE have kept the thought of Peace ever to the front. Had Dr. Jones lived until now, Chicago would be crowning him, as last night Jane Addams was crowned, in the presence of 1,400 people—the mayor there—as the first citizen of Chicago, and as David Starr Jordan was last year crowned as the first citizen of California. It is a case of Blessed are Peacemakers. And now perhaps the memory of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Peacemaker, will be kept green and immortal through the perpetuation of the two institutions he founded, UNITY and ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE. It would be fitting.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Monthly News Sheet

International.—Armaments.—The following facts are of interest: in 1924, the "civilized" nations of the world spent £580,100,000 on armaments. The cost of the League of Nations for that year was £900,110. Sir Josiah Stamp, the well-known economist, has estimated that by the cancellation of expenditure on armaments, the standard of living throughout the great industrial powers would be raised by over 10 per cent, meaning for the masses the difference between grinding penury and a reasonable standard of comfort.

The International Manifesto for the abolition of Conscription, which was issued at the end of August, has been published in every country in the world except where the free press is entirely suppressed. Even in these lands it was circulated to a considerable extent. There were hostile comments in the press of France and Belgium. Since publication, signatures from 23 countries have been added, among them those of Anna Kéthly, Hungary; Eugen Relgis, Roumania; Dr. Kurt Hiller, Germany; Dr. J. Polak, Poland.

Many organizations have subscribed to the manifesto, including Labor and Socialist parties of Estonia, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus, India, and the U. S. A. committee on Militarism in Education; *Jeunesses Laïques et Républicaines,* France; and sections of *La Fédération Ouvrière des Anciens Combattants*; and *l'Association Universelle pour Supprimer ce Crime, La Guerre,* France.

War Resisters' International.—Two sections of the War Resisters' International have been formed, an Irish Section, whose secretary is J. W. Carpenter, and a Danish section which has 14 members and whose secretary is Hans Wxlffel. One of this section, H. Jonassen, is serving 20 months' alternative service, while Nanggaard Nielsen, after a long struggle with the authorities for refusing alternative service, has been set free, but fined 200 kroner.

Czecho-Slovakia.—*Conscientious Objectors.*—Franz Lederer, of Prague, who has already served one term of imprisonment has been committed to prison for an indefinite period, for his second refusal of military service. Josef Levy, of Bohemia, has been transferred from the psychical section of the military hospital to the military prison at Teretzin. Jaroslav Cerny, of Prague, is detained in the mental section of the prison hospital, and Martin Boor and Karel Kratochvil are also still in prison. The general practice seems to be to release C. O.s after about ten months' medical observation, after which they are again liable to be called up.

Finland.—*Conscientious Objectors.*—The motion in favor of Civilian Service has been rejected in Parliament, but the Government has been requested to bring forward another proposal which will finally solve the problem. It may be hoped that the present Labor Government will act quickly, as its party has advocated Civilian Service in Parliament. The urgency of the problem is demonstrable from the fact that three cases have recently occurred of young men about 19 years of age, who have committed suicide rather than become or remain soldiers.

Germany.—*The Allied Commission of Military Control* is to be removed from Germany on January 31, and any outstanding questions between the German Government and the Allies will be referred to the League of Nations. It has been suggested that the system of International investigation now set up, which only comes into operation by a majority vote of the League Council, may prove to contain the nucleus of a further system for the control of all national armaments,

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grounds for hope that the traditions of savagery that have held the human race in bondage to warfare since its early days are indeed loosening their strangle-hold, so that this our day and generation will perhaps witness the throwing off of our chains and the emerging of mankind into the light of freedom and the dawn of a true civilization. For until war is obliterated from all the earth, civilization, though it may beckon, will forever elude our quest.

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

Brookline, Mass.

when the *international* reduction implied by the Peace Treaty, has been carried out. No agreement has been reached on the question of the evacuation of the Rhineland, and the negotiations of the Ambassadors' Conference on the question of Germany's trade in war materials and her Eastern fortifications are to continue.

Great Britain.—*"Militarism in our Educational Institutions,"* is the title of a pamphlet by Rennie Smith, M. P., and published by the National Council for the Prevention of War, showing the growth of Junior Cadet Corps and Officers' Training Corps in schools and colleges. There are more than 32,000 Cadets beginning at 13 years of age and upwards, scattered over 171 schools, and a further 179 schools are on the waiting list. There are also 608 officers and 4,254 Senior Cadets. The War Office is making strenuous efforts to increase this development by securing the "closest co-operation of head-masters"; it is making camp life more attractive, and contributing liberally to the cost. In 1925 over 12,000 junior cadets and nearly 3,000 senior cadets attended the annual camps. The training involves preparation for every kind of modern warfare; although it is not compulsory in theory, the influence of school convention makes it so in fact.

The Peace-Letter Campaign, initiated by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., was brought to a climax on December 4, in London, at a vast meeting of 9,000 people, many being members of the Labor Movement. Amid great enthusiasm Mr. Ponsonby announced that 100,000 signatures had already been obtained for the letter to the Prime Minister, declaring the intention to refuse support to any government which declines to resort to Arbitration in an international dispute. Encouraging messages were received from Canon Donaldson of Westminster Abbey, and many other well-known personalities. Among messages from Holland, Switzerland, Palestine, Denmark, Finland, Belgium, America, Germany and France were the following: "60,000 Flemish ex-combatants express their sympathy with Peace Letter action" (Flemish Ex-Soldiers' Union); "Young French Pacifists are with the English friends in abolishing war and acclaiming peace by disarmament," Marc Sangnier (La Jeune République); "German Branch of the War Resisters' International congratulate English friends on success of Peace Letter. We shall follow your example very soon."

New Zealand.—The churches in Auckland have at last begun to move in the right direction. They have strenuously opposed the efforts of the military authorities to enforce a three months' continuous training in camp for boys of 18 years. They won on the contention that three months' detention would be too great a danger morally, to boys of such tender years. Many boys are being persuaded to enter the Navy by a Naval Commander, who has recently been sent to the schools by the Navy League. As an antidote, one of the Peace Societies of Christchurch is endeavoring to get peace literature read in the schools, but without much possibility of success.

Russia.—*Conscientious Objectors.*—There are 50 C. O.'s now in prison, of whom information has been received by the War Resisters' International. One of them, Albert Vernekovsky, from Omsk, writes: "Naturally I wait for release, but I do not know when this will come about. At the present time, in result of the Soviet authorities having established a law whereby the time spent in prison is not deducted from the term of military service, the future for me is colored very grimly. This law binds me to remain in prison till I reach an age when military service is no longer obligatory. Much suffering will have to be borne, but all this counts for nought." Another, from Poltava, appeals for help for N. Pavlenko, a young man with a family to support, who has recently been condemned to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 25 roubles. Aid should be sent to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

JANUARY

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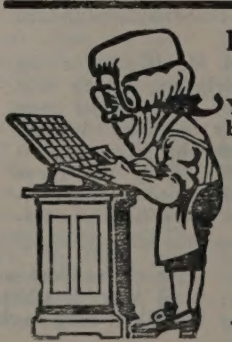

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